

SUGGESTIONS TO BUY: Television commercials from the U.S., Japan, China, and Korea
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This study deals with television commercials as suggestions to viewers (as consumers) to buy advertised products, and compares television commercials from the United States, Japan, the People's Republic of China, and South Korea from this perspective. It is intended to complement and augment other studies of differences in speech act realization across cultures, but is different from most other studies in several respects:

(1) It is often assumed that the most problematic issue both in speech act theory and in cross-cultural communication is the determination of what is meant by what is said. It is commonly pointed out that our goal in conversation is to convey our intentions (Searle 1969, Grice 1975), and that failure to convey or interpret intentions may be the most important source of cross-cultural communication breakdown (Tannen 1986). However, the television commercial has an obvious intent, to persuade consumers to buy a particular product. Successful communication is not a function of getting television viewers to recognize this illocutionary force, but of the persuasive impact of the commercial, including the linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies used to persuade. (2)

(2) Speech act analyses have been based on several kinds of data: native speaker intuitions, spoken or written language elicited through discourse completion tests, and naturally occurring utterances in face-to-face interaction. Our concern is with data which is artful rather than natural, carefully scripted by professional writers, although it is naturally occurring language in another sense, not experimentally elicited for the purpose of linguistic analysis.

(3) Very useful work has been done in the cross-cultural comparison of speech act behaviour by focusing on patterned variation in speech act realizations. The distribution of linguistic strategies for performing particular speech acts has been matched with speaker/hearer variables such as age, sex, social distance and relative power, together with the degree of imposition of the speech act involved, factors which according to the theory of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987) have been claimed to be the primary determinants of linguistic choices in speech act behavior. In the case of the television commercial, we might expect similar variation in speech act realizations when characters on screen talk to one another, but the central notions of speaker and hearer are problematic when applied to the language of advertising. Goffman (1981) has criticized the commonsense notion of speaker, pointing out that a "speaker" may be the one who speaks the message, the one who has encoded it, or the one who is committed to the beliefs expressed. In ordinary conversation, these three normally coincide; in role play, there may be no committed speaker; and in commercials these roles are distributed among actors, copywriters and the product manufacturer. As for the "hearer," Lakoff suggests that in advertising language (and in persuasive discourse in general), there is no addressee, but only an audience (Lakoff 1982:31). In addition, while commercials may use a particular kind of language in order to influence specific target audiences and may exploit such roles as celebrity: these devices are used strategically, creating situations and relationships rather than being sensitive to them.

(4) Many studies of cross-cultural variation in speech act behavior have reasonably direct relevance for second language learners whose goal is to interact effectively with native speakers of the target language under different social constraints. We do not claim such implications for our work, but do see this study as basic research for the teaching of language in business contexts, a field for which there is great demand and little research (Johns 1986).

TELEVISION COMMERCIALS AS SUGGESTIONS

Television commercials provide easily obtainable data which are relevant for a number of sociolinguistic concerns. Commercials have been analyzed as expressions of cultural codes and mythologies; as a medium-specific example of the register of advertising language, with a focus on novel uses of language; as manipulative and deceptive; and as the best exemplar of the broader category of persuasive discourse. Geis (1982) has perceptively analyzed a number of pragmatic aspects of American television commercials, including the ways in which product claims are interpreted by means of conversational maxims, but no study to date has dealt with television commercials from a speech act perspective.

As a speech act, the television commercial is some sort of directive or impositive. The essential point of a television commercial (the reason the advertiser purchases time) is that it is an attempt to get some hearer or audience, viewers in their role as consumers, to perform some future action, that is, to buy a product. We propose that television commercials are best viewed as suggestions to buy, however, rather than as some other species of directive, such as requests or orders. Commercials do not seem to be requests, because they do not attempt to engage the hearer's compliance on the grounds that the speaker wants or needs the act to be done, and they are not orders, because advertisers cannot expect consumers to buy a product as a consequence of the advertiser's or manufacturer's authority. Instead, a commercial can only suggest or recommend, to persuade the viewer - to consider the merits of taking the action in virtue of the speaker's belief that there is sufficient reason to act. Geis has argued that syntactic imperatives, observed to be very common in advertising, are to be viewed as suggestions rather than orders (Geis 1982: 19). However, in viewing commercials as suggestions, we are somewhat hampered by the lack of detailed studies of this speech act, particularly from a cross-cultural perspective. Cross-cultural studies of speech acts have focused on a small number of speech acts, including greetings and farewells, compliments, thanks, apologies, agreement and disagreement, and requests. The speech act of suggestion, a cousin of the request, has been much less studied, and we have located only two data-based cross-cultural studies, Rintel's (1979) brief comparison of suggestions in Spanish and English, and Banerjee and Carrell's (1988) comparison of suggestions by native and nonnative speakers of English.

While we have spoken so far as if the commercial is a speech act with a unifying illocutionary point, it is probably preferable to view the commercial as a whole as a speech event, the internal structure of which consists of a sequence of utterances which may differentially support such functions as suggesting, informing, entertaining, and the like. Our analysis will be based on a distinction between "head acts" within the discourse, those utterances or parts of utterances within television commercials which directly realize the act of suggesting, and various "supporting moves" that provide grounds or reasons for something to be done or remove objections. We view the underlying structure of a commercial as the following:

Head Act	+	Supporting Moves (reasons)
consumer should buy, use (etc.) the product	BECAUSE	product is effective/stylish/etc. product will make consumer happy/healthy/young/etc.

A multimodal approach to product presentations

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From traditional approaches to genre to MDA

Probably one of the most widely accepted definitions of genre is the one provided by Swales .

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. Swales (1990) perceives genres as a communicative event with a recognizable communicative purpose. This definition has proved very influential and many authors have developed and expanded on the concepts introduced by Swales.

Two crucial aspects in the concept of genre are recursiveness and regularities. A genre is recognizable by its recurrent use in particular situations as well as by regularities in form, content and purpose. Likewise, acceptance by a community is a requirement for a genre to be considered as such. Through this acceptance, a genre raises expectations in its community. This connection with a community of use also highlights genre as a social and professional tool that allows users to become competent members of a community. Furthermore, the genre-society relationship entails a reciprocal influence which Paré & Smart (1994) call Duality of Structure. On the other hand, genres are dynamic entities that change according to users' needs and also respond to social changes. Indeed, an effective use of a particular genre involves adaptability, which is necessary to obtain specific communicative goals in different communicative situations, as has in fact been extensively discussed in the concept of intertextuality. As society and the way people communicate evolve, new texts that do not seem to fit into existing genre typologies emerge and a revision of the concept of genre is needed. Also along this line Kress (2003) emphasizes the need to move from a theory that accounts for language alone to "a theory that can account equally well for gesture, speech, image, writing, 3D object, colour, music and others", describing genres as dynamic entities which are the result of a creative process (Kress, 2003). This is particularly salient in the case of persuasive genres, as pointed out by Halmari & Virtanen (2005). Since persuasion is more efficient as it is unexpected it also prompts genre dynamism and the integration of new elements (i.e. new semiotic modes) that consequently add to the description of the genre. A multimodal approach to genre is based on the assumption that the genre-creation process is multimodal, because users select among available modes to express their meaning.

A MDA approach: The case of product presentations

Our suggested MDA (Model-driven approach) approach takes into account all the modes and media (Jewitt, 2004) employed to better explain how the communicative purpose of a product presentation (i.e. to persuade the audience) is achieved within a particular communicative situation. In this paper we focus on the presentation of the iPhone. We understand this presentation is inherently persuasive, since it tries to convince the audience of the value of the new phone. In fact, previous studies have dealt with persuasion in this presentation. Kast (2008) provides a rhetorical analysis that shows how Steve Jobs builds a persuasive message through a complex interplay of resources which we argue calls for a multimodal approach.

Previous research also points out at the multimodal nature of persuasion. According to authors such as O'Keefe (2002), Perloff (2003) and Halmari & Virtanen (2005), persuasive messages tend to be more effective when:

- The speaker has credibility and the audience can identify with him or her.
- The text is made memorable.
- The text is innovative and surprising.
- It is perceived as not imposed, but inferred.

Our hypothesis is, therefore, that paraverbal and kinesic features play a crucial role in providing the text with the abovementioned features to make it more persuasive, i.e. speakers construe a persuasive message using different modes. In the specific example of the iPhone presentation we have identified the following semiotic modes:

- Verbal linguistic elements
- Paralanguage
- Kinesics
- Image
- Writing

Hybridization in American TV Commercials

Jana Pelclová

Introduction

Following Lakoff (1982, p.28), a discourse is considered persuasive when “the intent to persuade is recognized explicitly as such by at least one party to the discourse”. In the case of advertising, both parties recognize this intention since consumers are fully aware of the persuasive intention that is encoded in every advertising message. In order to mitigate the negative aspect connected with its persuasive function, the discourse of advertising operates with a number of camouflaging devices. One of them is the employment of the discourse of ordinary conversation because this non-persuasive discourse type is the opposite of unilateral, public and non-reciprocal interaction which advertising communication represents. However, advertising is not, and never will be, a face-to-face interaction like that we know from real-life situations. There are two main reasons for this argument: first, an advertising text is a written-to-be-performed text (therefore, everything is pre-arranged, hence not spontaneous); secondly, the participants’ rights differ from the rights of the participants of an ordinary conversation. Despite this disparity, advertising inclines to be structured as a piece of friendly interaction between the speaker, the persuader, and the receiver, the persuadee. As a result, the discourse of advertising borrows linguistic features typical of spoken language. Besides its spokenness, however, its written-to-be-performedness suggests that it also contains features found in written language. In other words, advertising can be identified as a hybrid form of communication that mingles elements of spokenness with the elements of writtenness (Urbanová, 2006, p.174).

Assuming that spokenness and writtenness are predominantly represented by the discourse of ordinary conversation and that of legal documents, respectively, it can be presumed that elements of these two language varieties are integrated in the discourse of advertising on both lexico-grammatical and pragmatic levels. The question that arises here is which linguistic elements typical of spokenness and which elements typical of writtenness prevail in advertising and how exactly TV advertising integrates these elements into commercials for products of everyday use. Additionally, the article focuses on what function the process of hybridization has in advertising discourse.

Language Entities of TV Advertising

Owing to its audio-visuality, TV advertising can operate with three language entities: the voice-over, the secondary participant and the super. The voice-over stands for an off-the-screen commentary that either corresponds with what is happening on the screen or provides a verbal explanation of what has just happened on the screen. The term secondary participant includes those participants that are visible on the screen and are involved in a dialogical situation either between themselves or directly with the persuadee when turning to the camera and addressing a TV viewer. Depending on a marketing strategy, however, this entity can be also verbally passive, which means that the secondary participant is displayed but does not say anything. The entity of the super refers to the text superimposed on the screen. According to its informative value, two types of this last language entity can be distinguished. The first type represents a text that underlines information the persuader considers crucial for the purchase of the product. The other type is represented by a piece of text the informative value of which is not so important but needs to be provided due to the legitimacy of a commercial, e.g.

These statements have not been evaluated by the Food & Drug Administration. This product is not intended to diagnose, treat, cure or prevent any disease (Osteo Bi-Flex).

Definitely, this piece of information is a less decisive factor at the point of purchase. For the purpose of the article, the former is distinguished as the super with higher informative value, while the latter is the super with lower informative value. The informative value of these two super types is of course reflected in their graphic layout and on-the-screen location.

Persuasive Language in Advertising and Televangelism
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Although 'persuasion' has been given a variety of definitions over the years, a composite of the most common meanings for the term would define 'persuasion' as the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone's attitudes, beliefs or behaviour through the transmission of a message. The pre-eminent means for transmitting a persuasive message is language, and in the modern world mass media offer the largest and most accessible audiences. Television, in particular, provides a well developed example of the use of spoken language for persuasive ends. There is, however, a tendency to consider persuasion as primarily an instrument of such obviously contrived ventures as commercial advertising or classical oratory. This paper is an attempt to refine our understanding of the wider role of language in the persuasion process by examining the broadcasts of television evangelists. More specifically, this study consists of an examination of the promotional segments of these broadcasts to determine if the linguistic features already established for television advertising (see Lakoff, 1981, and Geis, 1982) can also be found in another form of language used to persuade, namely, televangelism.

Unfortunately, there is currently no generally accepted theory which deals with the process of persuasion. The complexity of the persuasion process is attested to in both the variety and number of process models put forth, none of which has yet been able to account for even a major portion of the experimental results of persuasion research. Some experimental work has been conducted specifically to determine whether certain linguistic devices or stylistic features might have an impact on persuasion. Unfortunately, this research has generally suffered from a lack of comparability between operational definitions of the variables studied, resulting in findings which have tended to be mixed and difficult to interpret in relation to one another. For example, while there is some evidence to indicate that metaphor and simile enhance the persuasive impact of a message, a series of experiments conducted to test the effects of other stylistic features failed to uncover any consistent effects of message style on persuasion. One consistent result of research on the effect of linguistic style, however, has been to show that the persuasive impact of a message is affected by style insofar as the style of the message is perceived by the recipient to be similar to his own. Thus, it has been found, for example, that even though speakers with a standard or prestige accent are generally accorded more credibility and their arguments are judged to be more sound, a recipient with a non-standard accent will nevertheless be more persuaded by a message delivered in the register which most closely resembles his own.

Looking specifically at the language of television advertising to date, three major studies have been conducted which focus specifically on the language used in this advertising type. The first of these (Leech, 1966) was published almost two decades ago and used data taken from various types of advertising found in Great Britain. The second (Lakoff, 1981) notes that an essential identifying feature of persuasive communication in this genre is its quest for novelty of expression, and offers the following evidence from examples of television advertising (see Lakoff, 1981, p.37) :

1. lexical novelty or neologism (e.g., devilicious)
2. morphological or syntactic novelty (e.g., the soup that eats like a meal)
3. syntactic innovation
 - a) absence of subjects and verbal auxiliaries (e.g., Tastes good! And nutritious too!)
 - b) odd uses of the definite article (e.g., Next time I'll buy the Tylenol. Diaper keeps moisture away from baby's skin)
4. semantic anomaly (e.g., Cleans better than another 1 oven cleaner ! "..
5. pragmatic novelty (e.g., conversation in mini-dramas: "Fill it to the rim. With "Brim"

Lakoff accounts for this extensive use of linguistic novelty as follows. First, anything neologistic, because it violates Grice's fourth conversational maxim, the maxim of manner, draws attention to itself, thus increasing the impact of the message (see Grice, 1975). Second, through this violation of the Cooperative Principle, neologism forces the hearer to interpret, and therefore, to participate in the discourse. According to Lakoff, this active role played by the hearer, in turn, enhances learning and retention, and consequently also persuasion.

CLASSIFYING HORTATORY AND PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE

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Discourse analysis is by nature a multidisciplinary pursuit involving interconnections between language use, cognition, and interaction in social and cultural situations. Classifying discourse types is crucial in discourse analysis since different types display diverse patterns in linguistic features, some of which can only be properly understood within the context of the given type. Different types of discourse, for example, use differing forms of tense, aspect, and mode to mark their mainlines. While much study has been carried out on narrative discourse, other types of discourse have received only limited attention by researchers. This is partly due to the pervasiveness of narrative texts with their high human interest, which occur around us every day, but it is also due to the difficulties involved in analyzing and classifying non-narrative texts. This paper focuses on hortatory and persuasive discourse types in particular, which, according to Longacre (1996), aim at influencing conduct and at influencing beliefs and values, respectively. Certain classification systems group them together, while others distinguish between them because of the differences in purpose, macro-level units (macrosegments), and morphosyntactic features. Analyzing naturally occurring texts of hortatory and persuasive types, this paper asks whether they are two distinct types and whether persuasive discourse is similar to other types of discourse, such as expository.

Discourse typology.

Several studies have proposed discourse typology, in general, either based on text internal criteria such as linguistic features (Longacre 2004) or on communicator's intent and purpose (Tuggy 1992). Since the two bases may not always coincide and in fact often mismatch, several models try to encompass both aspects. For example, Virtanen (1992) discusses two parallel levels of types: text type, closer to the actual texts, and discourse type, connected with the purpose of discourse. She further states that narrative might be viewed as the basic text type with its possibilities of manifesting a variety of notional intents including narrative, descriptive, instructive, expository, and argumentative. Conversely, the argumentative type is the basic discourse type, since it 'is typically exposed through a range of different text types' (Virtanen 1992:305). The argumentative type, which may be exhortation or evaluation in her approach, seems to match with the hortatory or persuasive type in others. Longacre (1996) proposes etic notional typology and emic surface typology, with the possibility of skewing between the two. There are four basic notional types based on two parameter features: Agent Orientation (AO) and Contingent Temporal Succession (CTS). Thus narrative exhibits both AO and CTS, procedural only CTS, behavioral only AO (but logical succession instead of temporal succession), and expository lacks both features but has thematic orientation and logical succession. Behavioral discourse divides into two subtypes: hortatory with plus Projection, and eulogy with minus. He says the intent of hortatory discourse is to propose, that is, to suggest, urge, command, which underlie the whole text.

In presenting notional structure schema for each type—such as the plot in narrative including inciting incident, climax, and denouement—Longacre (1996:34) adds the persuasive type as distinct from both hortatory and expository. For example, hortatory may have macrosegments of (1) the authority and credibility of the text producer, (2) indication of a problem/situation, (3) one or more command elements (which may be brusque or mitigated), and (4) motivation (essentially threats or promises). Persuasive may have (1) presentation of a problem or question, (2) proposed solution or answer, (3) supporting argumentation which may include appeal to the authority or experience of the text producer, and (4) an appeal to give credence or to adopt certain values. Expository discourse differs from hortatory in lacking the feature AO and yet is described as having macrosegments similar to those of persuasive: (1) problem, (2) solution, (3) supporting argumentation, and (4) evaluation of the solution. So expository lacks the command of hortatory or appeal of persuasive, the segment that is minimal and basic to each type, but it instead has evaluation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The well-known American advertising creative director Bill Bernbach (1911-1982) once said, "Advertising isn't a science. It's persuasion. And persuasion is an art". It is very likely that Bernbach was not alluding here to public service advertisements (aka announcements) but to commercial consumer advertising, given that one of the main goals of this type of advertising, if not the most important one, is persuading or manipulating people's minds in order to sell a product. Leech defines it as follows, "advertising directed towards a mass audience with the aim of promoting sales of a commercial product or service" (1966: 25). Robin Lakoff described persuasive discourse as the "attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions, or viewpoint of another by communicative means" (1982: 28). But how is persuasion achieved? What are the strategies that govern persuasive discourse, and more specifically, the persuasive discourse of advertising?

Karol Hardin stated that violation of Grice's Maxims is a key pragmatic strategy in effecting persuasion because these allow "the advertiser or speaker in an ad to communicate more than what is actually said" (2001: 47 & 212; emphasis mine). Along with Gricean Maxims' violations, presupposition is also a very frequent strategy exploited in the language of advertising. The word 'presupposition' comes from the verb 'presuppose' which means "to assume, suppose or postulate beforehand; to take for granted". Thus, similarly to the maxim's violations, presuppositions also refer to some additional meaning that is not explicitly stated but which is communicated.

Closely connected to these two types of inferential communication are the so-called conventional and conversational implicatures. While conventional implicatures are directly related to presuppositions, conversational implicatures are the result of violations of Grice's Maxims. Unlike conventional implicatures, which mainly derive from the grammar or lexical items of an utterance, conversational implicatures require the audience to work out their meaning and consequently, their interpretation may differ from one individual to another.

Finally, it is worth mentioning in this introductory section that both presuppositions and Grice's Maxims violations are two types of covert communication commonly used in advertising for mainly two reasons. Firstly, they try to make the addressee forget that the speaker is trying to sell the reader something; and secondly, they help the speaker to "avoid taking responsibility for the social consequences of certain implications arising from advertisements" (Tanaka, 1994: 44).

The present study focuses on the role of presupposition in magazine food advertising. Firstly, I briefly explain what is understood in the literature by presupposition, and then I classify a sample of advertisements according to the type of information that is presupposed, devoting special attention to the linguistic structure of the sentences that give rise to technical presuppositions. Finally, in the light of the results of my analysis, an account of the pragmatic functions of presuppositions in English magazine advertising is provided, focusing this time on their persuasive function.

Presuppositions are important in advertising because they allow advertisers to engage in a fictional conversational exchange with their audience by taking certain information for granted. After analysing the headlines and sub-headlines⁸ of the advertisements from the magazines selected for this study, the findings indicate that presupposition is a highly frequent strategy in magazine nutritional advertisements. In the 52 advertisements collected for this project, there were 12 repeated nutritional ads making a total of 40 different commercials, out of which, instances of presuppositions were found in 25. In what follows, the 25 headlines (and sub-headlines) presenting the linguistic phenomenon of presupposition are classified into six groups according to the type of information assumed by the advertiser.

The Discourse of Print Advertising in the Philippines: Generic Structures and Linguistic Features

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This paper aims to examine the generic structures and linguistic properties of ads in Philippine magazines. Taken from the Corpus of Asian Magazine Advertising: The Philippine Database, the corpus consists of seventy-four ads for consumer nondurables such as medicines, vitamins and food supplements, and cosmetic/beauty/personal hygiene products. The study found that the ads demonstrated preference for certain generic structures and linguistic features, making them 'reason' (rather than 'tickle') ads which may be described as direct. The paper argues that the directness of these ads contributes to making them covert communication.

One of the most ubiquitous discourses is advertisements. When we watch TV in the comfort of our living rooms, we are bombarded with ads; when we read a newspaper or magazine, somehow our attention is distracted by one form of an ad or another. On our way to school or office, we come across ads in various shapes or colors. Indeed, advertising, whether print, broadcast, or any other type, is part of our everyday lives. It is no wonder then that advertising discourse has attracted the attention of scholars in over two decades. Simpson (2001) acknowledges that there has been "an enormous upsurge of interest in the linguistic and discursal characteristics of advertising" (p. 589), adding that the studies conducted have been anchored on different traditions and perspectives, such as cognitive, cultural and anthropological, genre and register analysis, critical discourse analysis, and linguistic pragmatics (Simpson, 2001, p. 590). In recent years, research has focused on reader effects of poetic and rhetorical elements in ads from a relevance-theoretic perspective. For instance, van Mulken, van Enschoot, van Dijk, and Hoeken (2005) aimed to find out whether slogans in ads are appreciated more than slogans without a pun, and whether puns containing two relevant interpretations are appreciated more than puns containing only one relevant interpretation (p. 707). To do this, 68 participants rated their appreciation of 24 slogans. The results showed that the presence or absence of puns had a significant impact on the respondents' appreciation of the slogans. Furthermore, whether the pun contained two relevant interpretations or only one did not influence the extent to which they were considered funny, but the former were considered a better choice than the latter (van Mulken, van Enschoot, van Dijk, and Hoeken, 2005). Lagerwerf (2007), on the other hand, examined the effects on audiences of irony in ads and of sarcasm in public information announcements. Two studies were conducted. Sixty students took part in the first study, with stimuli consisting of 12 magazine ads, six of which were positively formulated and six negatively. In the second, there were 40 students who participated in the experiment, with stimuli consisting of ads that were partly based on the researcher's own designs and partly on actual ads. In advertisements for commercial products and services, irony was found in the use of negative captions where positive captions were expected. Sarcasm was used by placing a positive caption against a background displaying a harrowing picture. Such departures from common practice in the use of negative and positive wordings were regarded as inappropriate. It turned out that advertisements with ironic intent were appreciated more when the inappropriateness was re-interpreted correctly as irony (Study 1). Even so, irony and sarcasm may impede a proper understanding of the advertisements' informative intention. This has a negative impact on the assessment by an audience of the importance of the societal issues emphasized in sarcastic announcements (Study 2) (Lagerwerf, 2007). Working within the pragmatic construct of metadiscourse, Fuertes-Olivera, et al. (2001) analyzed the metadiscourse devices typically used by ad copywriters to construct their slogans and/or headlines. The researchers' analysis proceeded from the assumption that advertising English should be represented as a continuum of text functions fluctuating between "informing" and "manipulating" in accordance with the idea that advertising is an example of covert communication. Based on an examination of ads from a women's magazine, they concluded that both textual and interpersonal metadiscourse devices help copywriters to convey a persuasive message under an informative mask (Fuertes-Olivera, et al., 2001).